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A STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS INDIANS
AND PEOPLE OF INDIAN DESCENT
The Pas, Manitoba
by
F. John G. Dallyn and Frazer G. Earle
1965

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F. John G. Dallyn
and
Frazer G. Earle

*The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews
224 Phoenix Building, Winnipeg 2, Manitoba*

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PREFACE

This study is the third in a series of observations about the attitudes of people toward Indians and persons of Indian descent. The survey was carried out during the summer of 1961 in the town of The Pas, Manitoba. The study is modest in scope and is designed to complement the increasing body of knowledge about Indians and Manitoba.

The survey and study was under the direction of Professor John Dallyn, Department of Sociology, University of Manitoba and Frazer Earle, Regional Director, Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Winnipeg.

The purpose of the study is to determine the amount of prejudice against Indians relative to the amount of prejudice in other places in Manitoba and to bring the information to light in the hope of stimulating community organizations to undertake a program of self-assessment.

Fraser Earle

July 10, 1965

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INTRODUCTION

The questionnaire used in this study was one developed in 1957 to be used in several communities. The questionnaire was constructed on the internal consistency technique of scaling as recommended by Goode and Hatt in "Methods in Social Research", pages 275 - 276. (1)

The study is based on a series of expectations about a group of people: expectations which we call stereotypes, and the people are Indians. It is apparent that a number of people do generalize their experience with individuals and apply these generalizations to a whole group of persons. This of course, is prejudgement of an individual member of that group.

The enquiry was structured to determine whether or not people are prejudiced against Indians, to what extent this prejudice exists and, indirectly, to infer what stereotypes have been accepted about Indians.

In order to obtain the maximum response from our questionnaire of sixteen items, the interviews were skilled and encouraged the respondents to elaborate their replies.

The Pas is a northern community connecting the northland with the more populous communities south of '53. It is a community of 4500 people. There is an Indian reservation adjoining the town site, separated by a river, and the Indians of The Pas live on the reserve but mingle freely in the town. There are mixed feelings towards the Indians: many people believe that the Indians contribute to the continuance of many 'social' problems in the area, such as prostitution and bootlegging, however, they do bring considerable business

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to the town (there are 657 persons of Indian descent in the town and 675 on the reserve). (2) It appears that the problems specific to the Indian are: excessive drinking, illegitimacy and non-employment. Many of the whites feel differently about Indians coming "down" from the north (trappers and fishermen), believing that these are a "cut above" the resident Indians. Opinion and rumour reinforce the belief that the Indians suffer prejudice and in some instances, are discriminated against socially, in public accommodation and in employment. Our study, however, was only to determine the amount of prejudice directed against them and not to document specific instances of discrimination.

(1) Goode, W.J. and Hatt, P.K. "Methods on Social Research",
McGraw - Hill, N.Y. 1952.

(2) Lagasse, J.H., "A study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba," Volume I, the Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Winnipeg, Manitoba. 1959 pp 35 - 63

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(1) O'Shea, W.J. and Hart, P.K. Methods on Social Research.

McGraw-Hill, N.Y. 1952.

(2) Lapsley, L.H. - A study of the Population of Indian Reserves living in

Manitoba. Volume I, the Department of Agriculture and Forestry.

Winnipeg, Manitoba. 1952 pp 32 - 63

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THE SAMPLE

The sample was derived by dividing the town into six areas. The number of homes in each area was then tabulated (3) and one-tenth of the homes in each area was established as the required number. Boundaries were drawn on the basis of apparent divisions of the town physically, that is, using the river, railroad tracks, main business streets as division points.

In alternative blocks, calls were made at one-fifth of the houses. Care was taken to select houses representative of the types in the block. If no one was home a second choice was made. Further choices were made if necessary. Any tendency to choose houses similarly located in the block was avoided. In each area for each block, or half-block when divided by a lane, the appropriate number of calls for a 20% sample was determined; hence, alternative blocks could be selected of the same size.

On this basis, the required number of homes for the sample was one hundred and fourteen. The actual number of completed interviews totaled one hundred and fourteen.

In addition to the completed calls, we have listed refusals.

(3) Tabulation was made from the Manitoba Power Commission maps for hydro distribution.

Table I shows the number of houses in a ten percent sample in each of the areas selected by the interviewers. Areas 2 and 6 were heavily populated in contrast to the rest of the community.

TABLE I
AREA DISTRIBUTION OF HOMES
IN SAMPLE

Area	Number of Household- ers in a Ten Percent Sample	Completed Interviews
1	12	12
2	26	26
3	18	18
4	19	19
5	7	7
6	32	32
	N - 114	N - 114

The Occupational Distribution of persons in the sample was somewhat divergent from census figures of 1951 (4). The variations were large in some areas. The most significant variations were in the number of proprietors, managers and officials, operatives, clerical and Sales.

(4) Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census, 1951

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TABLE 2
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS IN THE SAMPLE

Classification	Frequency	1951 Census
Professional, semi-professional	2.6	8.0
Farmers and farm managers	2.6	5.0
Proprietors, managers, officials	23.7	9.8
Clerical, sales and kindred	10.5	18.8
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	17.5	18.8
Operatives and kindred	21.1	13.1
Service Workers	3.5	12.9
Laborers (except farm and mine)	9.7	9.6
Unclassified and Retired	8.8	4.0
	100.0	100.0

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1	95	85	75
2	95	85	75
3	95	80	70
4	95	78	68
5	95	75	65

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Because of the diversity of number of ethnic groups represented in the town, it was important to show the distribution of respondents by ethnic origin as well. Table 3 outlines the groups represented.

TABLE 3
ETHNIC ORIGIN OF PATERNAL ANTECEDENT OF RESPONDENT

Nationality	Number	% of Sample
British Isles	61	53.4
Ukrainian	18	15.7
French	7	6.2
Scandinavian	7	6.2
German	6	5.2
Polish	6	5.2
Dutch	2	1.8
Chinese	2	1.8
Italian	1	.9
Spanish	1	.9
Russian	1	.9
Belgian	1	.9
Austrian	1	.9
	N - 114	

The sample in an area sample, however, other information confirmed the adequacy of the sample. While incidental to the purposes of the study, we sought the distribution of respondents according to religious affiliation. In checking the religious complexion of the town, we found that the religious groups represented in the sample approximated the strength of the various communities in the population.

TABLE 4
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE RESPONDENT

Denomination	Number	% in Sample
United Church	33	28.9
Roman Catholic	26	22.8
Anglican	25	21.9
Greek Orthodox	7	6.2
Greek Catholic	4	3.5
Lutheran	3	2.6
Baptist	2	1.8
Presbyterian	2	1.8
Mennonite	1	.9
Gospel Mission	1	.9
Jewish	1	.9
No Affiliation	9	7.8
N - 114		

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Figure 1. Schematic diagram of the experimental setup.

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In our inquiry we asked the respondent the language used in the home. The main purpose of this inquiry was to determine whether the interviewer could be reasonably assured that the items on the questionnaire would be understood thereby eliminating any errors by the respondent when answering.

TABLE 5
LANGUAGE USED IN THE HOME OF THE RESPONDENT

Language	Number	% Frequency
English	94	82.5
Ukrainian	12	10.4
French	4	3.5
Dutch	2	1.8
Polish	1	.9
Italian	1	.9
N - 114		

In tabulating the data, it was considered important to know what kind of contact, if any, respondents had with Indians: This is significant because the questionnaire form contains a number of stereotypes about Indians. In the sample, 79.9% claimed to have close contact, for example, at work, as neighbors, and friends; 8.7% had occasional contact, such as in school, in church, in hospital, 11.4% admitted only hearsay knowledge or no contact whatsoever.

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TABLE 6
SOURCE OF INFORMATION CONCERNING INDIANS

Source of Contact	Number	% Frequency
Job	52	45.7
Indians as neighbours	15	13.3
Indians as friends	11	9.6
Employs Indians	10	8.7
School	3	2.6
Church	3	2.6
Hospital	3	2.6
Marriage (in-Laws)	3	2.6
Other types	1	.9
No contact and/or no information	13	11.4

The respondents were asked to give the level of education achieved so that the relationship between educational status and feelings about Indians could be evaluated.

TABLE 7
LEVEL OF EDUCATION AMONG THE RESPONDENTS

Grade Completed	Number	% Frequency
0	2	1.8
1 - 4	9	7.9
5 - 8	36	31.5
9 - 12	64	56.1
University	2	1.8
University Graduation	1	.9
N - 114		

Our sample called for 114 completed interviews, and this was accomplished. However, seven persons refused to answer the questionnaire and the reasons given were tabulated to determine whether their responses, if the interview had been completed, might have been interpreted as hostile or negative towards Indians. In five cases, the reasons given were understandable ones, in two cases prejudice may have prompted a refusal to co-operate, i.e., "not interested," and "no reason given."

TABLE 8
CLASSIFICATION OF REFUSALS DURING SURVEY

Reason Given	Number
Too busy	3
Not interested	1
Illness in Home	1
No information about Indians	1
No reason given	1

SURVLY FINDINGS

By assigning values of one to five for each response to each of the sixteen statements (see Appendix A), it was possible to obtain the gross score for each respondent. This ranged from a minimum of 16 (score 1 multiplied by 16) and a maximum of 80 (score 5 multiplied by 16). This score indicated the apparent lack of, or presence of, prejudiced attitudes. By using a rating of 1 or 2 on an item, yielding a gross score of not more than 32, the researchers presumed a lack of prejudice. A score of 33 to 48, the middle of the scale, or 16 times 3, indicated uncertainty in their attitudes. A score of 49 upwards, using ratings 4 and 5 times 16, indicated the presence of some degree of prejudice towards Indians.

In table 9, the gross scores are distributed according to frequency of incidence.

TABLE 9
DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS SCORES

Score	Frequency of Response
58 - 60	1
55 - 57	3
52 - 54	4
49 - 51	4
46 - 48	5
43 - 45	11
40 - 42	20
37 - 39	12
34 - 36	17
31 - 33	21
28 - 30	12
25 - 27	2
22 - 24	1
19 - 21	1
N - 114	

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If the gross scores are grouped into three ranges, one sees that there are 12 persons who scored over 49 on the questionnaire. This represents 10.5% of the sample. At the other extreme 26.4% of the sample scored low enough to indicate the absence of any prejudice in their responses in Indians (16 - 32). The third group, those indicating uncertainty in their attitudes (33-48) totaled 63.2% of the sample. Within this group are a persons who scored high on some individual items and some scored high on several items. This becomes a significant group of respondents because we can speculate that under unfavorable circumstances their attitudes towards Indians can be very negative.

In reality, 10.5% expressed extreme prejudice towards Indians, which is three times higher than that encountered in Portage la Prairie (3.1%) and over twice that encountered in Selkirk (4.7%).

(5) Also, we have a large group of persons, who are prejudiced towards Indians in some situations (63.2%). In the questionnaire of 16 items, there were that many opportunities for people to express any prejudice they might have, that is score 4 or 5. In the case of 30 persons, each one refused the opportunity sixteen times (that is, no high scores). There is evidence of prejudice in the community, because 73.7% of those interviewed responded with some bias on one or more items.

The interviewers felt that the facts indicate a good deal of prejudice. In order to spell out the feeling expressed by respondents, the following pages will deal with responses to specific scale items.

(5) Dallyn, F. J. G., and Larle, F. G., "A Study of Attitudes Towards Indians and People of Indian Descent, Winnipeg Office, Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, 1958, 1959.

Also, the responses of each person to each scale item was examined and the number of persons whose score indicated prejudice on any one item was tallied. Respondents gave prejudiced replies on one to thirteen items. The distribution of high scores is illustrated in Table 10.

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH SCORES AND ITEM FREQUENCY

Number of Items on Questionnaire Drawing Prejudiced Response	Frequency of Response
1	17
2 - 3	28
4 - 5	20
6 - 7	10
over	6
	N - 81

Thirty-three or 29.9% failed to indicate prejudice on even one item. This is much less than Portage la Prairie 40.8% or Selkirk 53.7%.

In analyzing the scale items we found that there is a highly prejudiced response to certain items graduating down to incidental prejudiced response to other items. The items which lend themselves to stereotyping appeared to have a higher incidence of prejudiced responses than others.

TABLE II
FREQUENCY OF PREJUDICED RESPONSES TO SCALE ITEMS

Scale Item	% Frequency of Prejudiced Response
9	45.7
12	43.9
14	35.1
15	26.3
16	22.8
3	17.5
13	14.0
11	12.3
1	9.6
4	7.9
2	6.2
7	6.2
8	6.2
5	5.3
6	2.6
10	2.6

The items which received the prejudiced responses most frequently were the following:

- "Item 9" The homes of people of Indian descent offer nothing good to a child or an elderly person.
45.7% (52) of the sample agreed with this statement.
This compares unfavorably with Portage la Prairie (13.4%) and Selkirk (14.3%).
- "Item 12" Most people of Indian descent show complete disregard of the common standards of personal decency.
43.9% (49) agreed with this statement.
By comparison: Portage la Prairie (17.2%) Selkirk (22.4%)
- "Item 14" People of Indian descent are undesirable employees, because they are shiftless, undependable and without skills.
35.1% (40) agreed with this statement.
By comparison: Portage la Prairie (21.8%) Selkirk (21.8%)
- "Item 15" Most children of people of Indian descent are born out of wedlock.
26.3% (30) agreed with this statement.
By comparison: Portage la Prairie (9.6%) Selkirk (9.5%).
- "Item 16" It is wrong to force anyone to have to rely on a person of Indian descent as a shop steward or top union Leader.
22.8% (26) agreed with this statement.
By comparison: Portage la Prairie (19.5%) Selkirk (13.6%)
- "Item 3" People of Indian descent would be included in a party in my home if the occasion arose.
17.5% (20) disagreed with this.
By comparison: Portage la Prairie (13%) Selkirk (8.2%).

- "Item 13" All homes of people of Indian descent are dirty sixteen.
(16) agreed.
By comparison: Portage la Prairie (13%) Selkirk (5.4%).
Despite the persistence of these stereotypes, we found
a general willingness to provide the Indian with some chance. This is
seen by the responses to items 6, 7 and 8.
- "Item 6" Children of Indian descent can make excellent progress
in school.
97.4% of the sample agreed.
- "Item 7" If given an opportunity people of Indian descent can
become capable leaders.
- "Item 8" I would not object if parents and children of Indian
descent were encouraged to join Home and School organ-
izations and to take an active part in them.
93.8% of the sample agreed.

We analyzed the response of various groups in the community and it was apparent that some persons of all groups reacted negatively on one or more items. In looking over the incidence of prejudiced responses, it is readily apparent that this attitude towards Indians is almost a social pattern in the community. Certain groups are more prejudiced than others, with the German, French, Ukrainian and Polish groups scoring highest.

TABLE 12
DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH SCORES ON MORE THAN ONE
ITEM ACCORDING TO ETHNIC GROUPS

Group	Persons in Sample	% of Persons in Sample Scoring High on More Than One Item
British Isles	61	45.9
Ukrainian	18	66.6
French	7	71.4
Polish	6	66.6
Scandinavian	7	42.9
German	6	83.3
Dutch	2	50.0
Chinese	2	50.0
Italian	1	100.0
Spanish	1	100.0
Russian	1	100.0
Belgian	1	100.0
Austrian	1	0.0

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A further grouping in the sample was based on occupation. It can be observed from Table 18, that most items in the scale were received in a negative manner in varying degrees by all groups. For purposes of interpretation in the light of the distribution evident in Table 11, it appears that any item scored high, that is, four or five, in 10% or more cases, suggests the existence of significant prejudice.

Among the group classified as professional, managers, craftsmen, 35.7% (15) felt that Indians were undesirable employees because they were shiftless, undependable, and lacking in skills (item 14), among farmers, laborers, operatives, 50% (17) agreed.

Professionals, managers, craftsmen and foremen, 21.4% (9) did not feel they could rely on a person of Indian descent as a shop steward or union leader (item 16). Farmers, laborers and operatives, 26.5% (9) agreed.

Table 13 further delineates the responses of various occupational groups.

TABLE 13
COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF
HIGH SCORES ON ONE OR MORE TEST ITEMS

Item Number	INCIDENCE OF HIGH SCORES BY PERCENT			
	Professional Managers, Craftsmen Foremen	Farmers, Laborers Operatives	Clerical Sales	Others
1	7.0	8.8	4.2	28.5
2	9.5	2.9	4.2	7.1
3	16.6	17.6	8.3	35.7
4	9.5	5.8	4.2	14.3
5	4.8	5.8	4.2	7.1
6	4.8	2.9	0.0	0.0
7	9.5	5.8	0.0	7.1
8	9.5	2.9	4.2	7.1
9	45.2	61.8	20.8	50.0
10	4.8	0.0	0.0	7.1
11	14.3	20.9	0.0	7.1
12	45.2	58.9	12.5	57.2
13	14.3	17.6	4.2	21.4
14	35.7	50.0	8.3	50.0
15	26.2	32.3	8.3	42.9
16	21.4	26.5	12.5	35.7

In analyzing the responses of the sample, according to educational groupings, we found some significant differences as well as similarities in comparing the responses of various groups. We used an arbitrary percentage (10%) of negative responses as being significant.

No one of the groups had much objection toward Indians being hired as teachers. Only those whose education was zero, felt that Indian children were not capable in the school setting (item 6). However, 15.5% of the grade school graduates, 10.9% of high school graduates, felt that there was no point in forcing Indian children to attend school regularly.

Among persons having only elementary school education, 15.5% would not allow their children to play with Indian children. There were only 4.7% who objected among high school graduates, and no university people.

To the question about including Indians in a party in a house, 22.2% of the elementary school group and 14% of the high school group dissented. No objection from the university group.

In classifying the home environment of the Indians, 100% without formal education, 46.9% of the elementary group, 37.5% of the high school group felt that Indian homes offered nothing good to children.

It is interesting to note that a high percentage of every group believed that most children of Indian descent were born out of wedlock (item 15).

TABLE 14
COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION
AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH SCORES ON
ONE OR MORE TEST ITEMS

INCIDENCE OF HIGH SCORES BY PERCENT				
Item Number	No Education	Grades 1 - 8	Grades 9 - 12	University or over
1	50.0	15.5	4.7	0.0
2	0.0	6.6	6.3	0.0
3	50.0	22.2	14.0	0.0
4	0.0	8.8	9.4	0.0
5	0.0	11.1	1.5	0.0
6	50.0	0.0	3.1	0.0
7	0.0	8.8	4.7	0.0
8	0.0	11.1	3.1	0.0
9	100.0	46.9	37.5	0.0
10	0.0	4.4	0.0	33.3
11	0.0	15.5	10.9	0.0
12	50.0	48.8	40.6	33.3
13	100.0	13.3	12.5	0.0
14	100.0	35.5	34.3	0.0
15	100.0	31.1	21.8	33.3
16	50.0	24.4	21.8	0.0

1. $\frac{1}{x^2} = x^{-2}$
 $\frac{d}{dx} x^{-2} = -2x^{-3} = -\frac{2}{x^3}$
 $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^2} = -\frac{2}{x^3}$

2. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^3} = -\frac{3}{x^4}$

3. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^4} = -\frac{4}{x^5}$

4. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^5} = -\frac{5}{x^6}$

5. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^6} = -\frac{6}{x^7}$

6. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^7} = -\frac{7}{x^8}$

7. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^8} = -\frac{8}{x^9}$

8. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^9} = -\frac{9}{x^{10}}$

9. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{10}} = -\frac{10}{x^{11}}$

10. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{11}} = -\frac{11}{x^{12}}$

11. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{12}} = -\frac{12}{x^{13}}$

12. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{13}} = -\frac{13}{x^{14}}$

13. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{14}} = -\frac{14}{x^{15}}$

14. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{15}} = -\frac{15}{x^{16}}$

15. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{16}} = -\frac{16}{x^{17}}$

16. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{17}} = -\frac{17}{x^{18}}$

17. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{18}} = -\frac{18}{x^{19}}$

18. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{19}} = -\frac{19}{x^{20}}$

19. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{20}} = -\frac{20}{x^{21}}$

20. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{21}} = -\frac{21}{x^{22}}$

21. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{22}} = -\frac{22}{x^{23}}$

22. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{23}} = -\frac{23}{x^{24}}$

23. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{24}} = -\frac{24}{x^{25}}$

24. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{25}} = -\frac{25}{x^{26}}$

25. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{26}} = -\frac{26}{x^{27}}$

26. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{27}} = -\frac{27}{x^{28}}$

27. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{28}} = -\frac{28}{x^{29}}$

28. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{29}} = -\frac{29}{x^{30}}$

29. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{30}} = -\frac{30}{x^{31}}$

30. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{31}} = -\frac{31}{x^{32}}$

31. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{32}} = -\frac{32}{x^{33}}$

32. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{33}} = -\frac{33}{x^{34}}$

33. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{34}} = -\frac{34}{x^{35}}$

34. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{35}} = -\frac{35}{x^{36}}$

35. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{36}} = -\frac{36}{x^{37}}$

36. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{37}} = -\frac{37}{x^{38}}$

37. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{38}} = -\frac{38}{x^{39}}$

38. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{39}} = -\frac{39}{x^{40}}$

39. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{40}} = -\frac{40}{x^{41}}$

40. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{41}} = -\frac{41}{x^{42}}$

41. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{42}} = -\frac{42}{x^{43}}$

42. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{43}} = -\frac{43}{x^{44}}$

43. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{44}} = -\frac{44}{x^{45}}$

44. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{45}} = -\frac{45}{x^{46}}$

45. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{46}} = -\frac{46}{x^{47}}$

46. $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^{47}} = -\frac{47}{x^{48}}$

Table 15 is self-explanatory in that it details the number of persons in each religious denomination who scored high on more than one item and thereby indicates prejudice in some situations.

TABLE 15
DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH SCORES
ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Group	Number in the Sample	% Scoring High on more than one item
United	33	42.4
Roman Catholic	26	69.2
Anglican	25	36.0
Greek Orthodox	7	57.1
Greek Catholic	4	75.0
Lutheran	3	33.3
Baptist	2	100.0
Mennonite	1	100.0
Jewish	1	100.0
Presbyterian	2	0.0
Gospel Mission	1	0.0
Unaffiliated	9	44.4

1941-1942 1943-1944 1945-1946 1947-1948 1949-1950

1951-1952 1953-1954 1955-1956 1957-1958 1959-1960

1961-1962 1963-1964 1965-1966 1967-1968 1969-1970

1971-1972

1973-1974 1975-1976 1977-1978 1979-1980

1981-1982 1983-1984 1985-1986 1987-1988 1989-1990

1991-1992 1993-1994 1995-1996 1997-1998 1999-2000

2001-2002 2003-2004 2005-2006 2007-2008 2009-2010

2011-2012

2013-2014

2015-2016

2017-2018

2019-2020

2021-2022

2023-2024 2025-2026 2027-2028 2029-2030

2031-2032

2033-2034

2035-2036

2037-2038

2039-2040

2041-2042

2043-2044

2045-2046

2047-2048

2049-2050

2051-2052

2053-2054

2055-2056

2057-2058

2059-2060

2061-2062

2063-2064

A further classification of data was around the degree of personal contact individuals had with Indians and the kind of responses they gave to questionnaire items.

Significant statistics attach to the responses on several items. Of those who received their information indirectly, 100% felt that Indian homes were unsuitable for children (item 9). Indians disregarded common standards of personal decency (item 12), were undesirable employees (item 14), children were born out of wedlock (item 15), and Indians could not be relied on as union leaders.

Of those who had contact with Indians, 36.3% agreed with (item 9,) 32.9% accepted (item 12,) and 29.7% felt that Indians were undependable employees.

Those with no information and/or contact yielded high scores on item 9, 12 and 14.

Those having indirect contact with Indians rejected the idea of inviting Indians to a party in their homes three times as often (50%) as those having contact with Indians (16.5%).

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TABLE 16
COMPARISON OF DEGREE OF CONTACT
with INDIANS AND DISTRIBUTION
OF HIGH SCORES ON MORE THAN ONE ITEM

Item Number	INCIDENCE OF HIGH SCORES BY PERCENT		
	Contact	Indirect Contact	No Information
1	8.8	20.0	7.7
2	3.3	30.0	7.7
3	16.5	50.0	0.0
4	7.7	10.0	7.7
5	3.3	20.0	7.7
6	1.1	20.0	0.0
7	6.6	10.0	0.0
8	6.6	100.0	7.7
9	36.3	100.0	69.2
10	3.3	0.0	0.0
11	9.9	50.0	0.0
12	32.9	100.0	76.9
13	12.1	40.0	7.7
14	29.7	100.0	38.5
15	19.8	100.0	15.4
16	16.5	100.0	7.7

CONCLUSION

It is evident from our findings that a considerable degree of prejudice against Indians exists in the community. Of our sample, 10.5% were extremely prejudiced, while 63.2% were prejudiced in some situations. The term "prejudiced" is used because it is difficult to be neutral. If a person is prejudiced against Indians in one situation, then, for the purpose of this study, prejudice exists on the part of that person. While it is recognized that the feeling expressed about a particular situation may be based on an actual experience, however, the respondent was asked about Indians as a group and it becomes apparent that the respondent is generalizing his experience about a situation to characterize the group.

The Pas is different than some Manitoba communities, and quite different from the two communities where similar studies were carried on previously. The Pas is a "connection" with the north, it serves as a stopping off place for workers going to and coming from the bush country as loggers, fishermen and miners. A considerable number of persons are transient and they use the town for immediate comfort and entertainment on a short-term basis. The atmosphere of the community is quite removed from that experienced in the larger urban centres to the south. As previously mentioned, there is general concern about "social problems" which are mainly bootlegging and prostitution in which some Indians are involved as vendors and customers.

Another difference, is, that there has been little effort to integrate the Indian into the social and economic life of the

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

community. This is illustrated widely in the social remoteness of the reservation despite its physical proximity.

A similarity existing between the Pas and other communities studied is, that there is a general feeling of wanting to "help" the Indian (and this can be seen in the response to some items in the questionnaire) but to give this "help" without becoming involved with them on a personal or social basis. Also, there was an expression of considerable optimism about the younger generation in terms of education, industrial skill training, and so on.

In general, the conscience of the community has been touched by the circumstances of the Indian, but a considerable degree of prejudice stands in the way of actually integrating the Indian into the community so that opportunities become a reality.

In analyzing our findings, among the thirteen ethnic groups represented in the sample, all were prejudiced to some degree. Prejudice was found among more people in the French (71.4%), Ukrainian (66.6%) and Polish groups (66.6%) than in the Anglo-Saxon (45.9%) and Scandinavian groups (4.29%). All of these groups have been associated with the community for some years, including the early days of building the town. However, it is interesting to note that the French group and the Anglo-Saxon group, who represent the pioneers, are widely divergent in the degree of prejudice expressed by their members. Perhaps the most startling statistic is that of the German group, who are relative new comers as compared with the French and Anglo-Saxon, in which 83.3% were prejudiced in two or more situations.

Around matters of occupational opportunity, the Indian

is constantly faced with the stereotype that he is an undesirable employee because he is lazy, shiftless and undependable (untrained). Our findings were that 35.7% of those who might be employers agreed with the stereotype; 50% of laborers, operatives and farmers agreed; 50% of service workers agreed. It is readily deduced that the Indian must compete with persons in the laborer, farmer and service worker categories, and is handicapped immediately by this stereotype having such wide acceptance.

Looking for a measure of social acceptance by his occupational peers, we find that of those classified as laborers, 58.9% felt that the Indian showed complete disregard of common standards of personal decency, and 17.6% rejected the idea of having an Indian included in a party in their homes. Among service workers, 57.2% agreed with the former statement, and 35.7% of them would not invite an Indian to a party in their homes.

Another item related to work, and occupational grouping, was the response to the suggestion of an Indian giving leadership in a union or as a shop steward. Among laborers, 26.5% felt that they could not rely on an Indian and 35.7% of service workers felt this way.

In other words, the Indian is at a disadvantage in several key areas related to work opportunities among persons with whom he would work as a fellow-laborer.

Again, in surveying the people with whom the Indian will most likely have social intercourse and job associations, we studied the distribution of scores according to educational achievement. The Indian will live among, and have contact with, people whose general level of education is close to his own. The Indian has a general level

of education that averages grade six. The non-Indian population averages grade nine. The Indian, therefore, will be more likely to associate with persons in the community whose educational standing is primarily at the elementary school level, and not more than secondary school.

With the exception of the group without formal education, all groups agreed that Indian children can make excellent progress in school; there was mild disagreement among people of elementary and high school education regarding the hiring of Indians as teachers. Similarly, all groups felt that Indian parents should be encouraged to join Home and School associations. Also, each group, except the university group, felt that Indian children would benefit by compulsory school attendance. All these items are very positive signs of the optimism held as to the future of the Indian once he has been educated, and his capacity to benefit by education.

However, the elementary school group want to maintain a social distance from the Indian, in that 15.5% of them would not allow their children to play with Indian children; 22.2% would not invite Indians into their homes. In addition, their feelings about Indians as parents are quite negative; 46.9% felt that Indian homes were unsuitable for children; 48.8% agreed that Indians lacked standards of personal decency, and 31.1% believed that most children of Indian descent were born out of wedlock.

In essence, we have the community group of similar educational background to the Indian rejecting him as a desirable neighbor, playmate for his children, or guest in the home, but wanting a better education for him, and believing that he can absorb and benefit by it. This kind of response fits into the concept of separate, but equal facilities for Indian children.

A conclusion to be drawn from the data relating to religious affiliation and distribution of high scores is that some persons of each denominational group possess varying degrees of prejudice in some situations. It is apparent that membership in a Christian church does not preclude the presence of prejudice against Indians and persons of Indian descent.

Finally, we found that persons who had direct contact with Indians (as neighbors, on the job, and similar face-to-face experience) were generally less prejudiced than those who received their information indirectly or who had no information or contact with Indians. On one of the items, as an example, 36.3% of those having direct contact with Indians felt that their homes were unsuitable for children, while 100% of the group having indirect contact felt this way, and 69.2% of persons who had no contact, felt this way. Also, by contrast, 32.9% of the Direct ^{CONTACT} group agreed with item 12, while the Indirect Contact group and No Information group registered 100% agreement and 76.9% agreement, respectively. These items seem to confirm the suggestion that stereotypes are accepted uncritically by many people.

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- Lagasse, J.H., "A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba", Volume I, The Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1959.

Personal Data

1. Number of persons living in household unit circle 1, 2, 3,.....
2. Number of rooms occupied (do not count bathroom
circle 1, 2, 3,.....
3. Occupation of Head of Household(specify type of job)_____
4. What language do you usually speak in the home?_____
5. Are you a person of Indian descent?
Yes_____ No _____
6. National origin of father_____
- National origin of mother _____
7. What is your chief source of information about, or experience
with people of Indian descent:
Job_____ Neighbours_____
- Newspapers_____ School_____
- Church_____ Friends_____
- Employer_____ Books_____
- Movies_____ Hospital_____
- Other contact_____
- No contact_____
- No information_____
8. Male_____ Female_____
9. Last grade in school successfully completed _____

Figure 1. Schematic representation of the experimental design. The first part of the experiment consisted of a 10-min baseline period during which the participant was asked to maintain a steady heart rate (HR) of 120 beats per minute (bpm) by pedalling on a cycle ergometer. The second part of the experiment consisted of a 10-min period during which the participant was asked to maintain a steady HR of 120 bpm by pedalling on a cycle ergometer. The third part of the experiment consisted of a 10-min period during which the participant was asked to maintain a steady HR of 120 bpm by pedalling on a cycle ergometer. The fourth part of the experiment consisted of a 10-min period during which the participant was asked to maintain a steady HR of 120 bpm by pedalling on a cycle ergometer. The fifth part of the experiment consisted of a 10-min period during which the participant was asked to maintain a steady HR of 120 bpm by pedalling on a cycle ergometer. The sixth part of the experiment consisted of a 10-min period during which the participant was asked to maintain a steady HR of 120 bpm by pedalling on a cycle ergometer. The seventh part of the experiment consisted of a 10-min period during which the participant was asked to maintain a steady HR of 120 bpm by pedalling on a cycle ergometer. The eighth part of the experiment consisted of a 10-min period during which the participant was asked to maintain a steady HR of 120 bpm by pedalling on a cycle ergometer. The ninth part of the experiment consisted of a 10-min period during which the participant was asked to maintain a steady HR of 120 bpm by pedalling on a cycle ergometer. The tenth part of the experiment consisted of a 10-min period during which the participant was asked to maintain a steady HR of 120 bpm by pedalling on a cycle ergometer.

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STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD INDIANS AND PEOPLE OF INDIAN DESCENT

Please circle the number below the response (agree, etc.) in each section which most closely expresses your feeling about each of the following statements.

1. If I had any children I would not let them play with children of Indian descent.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
5	4	3	2	1

2. People of Indian descent should not be hired as teachers.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
5	4	3	2	1

3. People of Indian descent would be included in a party in my home if the occasion arose.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
1	2	3	4	5

4. Children of Indian descent should be educated alongside other children if possible.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
1	2	3	4	5

5. I would feel uncomfortable if I worked with a person of Indian descent.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
5	4	3	2	1

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6. Children of Indian descent can make excellent progress in school.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
1	2	3	4	5

7. If given the opportunity people of Indian descent become capable leaders.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
1	2	3	4	5

8. I would not object if parents of children of Indian descent were encouraged to join Home and School organizations and to take an active part in them.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
1	2	3	4	5

9. The homes of people of Indian descent offer nothing good to a child or elderly person.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
5	4	3	2	1

10. There is no point in forcing children of Indian descent to attend school regularly.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
5	4	3	2	1

11. Many people of Indian descent are good parents.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
1	2	3	4	5

12. Most people of Indian descent show complete disregard of the common standards of personal decency.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
5	4	3	2	1

13. All homes of people of Indian descent are dirty.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
5	4	3	2	1

14. People of Indian descent are undesirable employees because they are shiftless, undependable, and without skills.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
5	4	3	2	1

15. Most children of people of Indian descent are born out of wedlock.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
5	4	3	2	1

16. It is wrong to force anyone to have to rely on a person of Indian descent as a shop steward or top union leader.

<u>strongly</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>agree</u>	<u>uncertain</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>strongly</u> <u>disagree</u>
5	4	3	2	1

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"...to promote justice, amity, understanding, and co-operation among Protestants, Catholics, Jews and other religious groups, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relations."

ITS PROGRAMMES INCLUDE:

- . Seminars on the theme "Rearing Children of Good Will".
- . Conferences on Human Relations for high school students.
- . Exchange of Visits, by English and French-speaking high school students. (2000 were involved in 1965, the goal is 5000 for 1967.)
- . Campus Weekend Conferences for university students.
- . Credit giving and non-credit courses in human relations for community leaders and teachers at various Canadian universities.
- . Teamwork in Industry Institutes, involving management and labour.
- . Institutes on Police-Community Relations.
- . Seminars for nurses and hospital personnel in human relations.
- . Religious Dialogue for laymen and clergy.
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"...to promote justice, unity, understanding, and co-operation among Protestants, Catholics, Jews and other religious groups, and to engage members and friendly elements throughout Protestantism with the Jewish and Islamic religions, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs, and others, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious basis of Protestantism and Judaism shall become the standards of human relations."

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- Exchange of visits, in English and French-speaking high school students.
- (1960) were involved in 1961, the goal is 1962 for 1963.
- Campus Week-end Conferences for university students.
- Credit giving and non-credit courses in human relations for community leaders and members of various religious traditions.
- Seminars in industry, business, religious management and labour.
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